

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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47-48

Action

CONFIDENTIAL

Control:

Rec'd:

3027

Dec. 6, 1961

6:58 AM

FE

Info

FROM: DJAKARTA

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USIA

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CIA

NSA

OSD

ARMY

NAVY

AIR

NIC

RMR

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1006, DECEMBER 5, 4 PM

ACTION DEPARTMENT 1006, INFORMATION CINCPAC 130, LONDON 52, MOSCOW 13, THE HAGUE 56, CANBERRA 44.

INDIAN AMBASSADOR PANT INFORMED ME TODAY HIS READING OF AIDIT RECENT STATEMENT STRADDLING DE-STALINIZATION ISSUE AND IMPLIED CRITICISM SOVIET RUSSIA FOR WASHING LINEN IN PUBLIC WAS THAT PKI WAS MAKING BASIC READJUSTMENT IN POSTURE AND LINING UP WITH COMMUNIST CHINA AS AGAINST SOVIET UNION. HE PRESUMED THIS WAS IN RESPONSE TO INTERNAL PRESSURES WITHIN PARTY.

THE CONCLUSION REPRESENTED HIS VIEW AFTER EXTENSIVE CONVERSATION WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR, HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR AND YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR, AMONG OTHERS. THE HUNGARIAN APPARENTLY FELT THAT TIME HAD COME WHEN PKI WOULD HAVE TO TAKE STAND AGAINST GOVERNMENT IN INDONESIA AND THE SOONER THIS CONFRONTATION TOOK PLACE, THE BETTER.

THREE POSSIBILITIES WERE ENVISAGED BY THE HUNGARIAN FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE IN INDONESIA: A TAKEOVER BY RIGHTEST ELEMENTS LED BY THE ARMY; AN ESTABLISHMENT OF A NASAKOM-TYPE NATIONAL FRONT -- THE SOLUTION FAVORED BY SUKARNO; A PROLETARIAN REVOLT RESULTING IN A COMMUNIST VICTORY. THE FIRST COULD NOT SUCCEED BECAUSE, EVEN IF THE ARMY TOOK OVER, IT COULD NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEMS IT WOULD FACE. THE SECOND MIGHT ROCK ALONG IN AN UNEASY BALANCE UNDER SUKARNO LEADERSHIP FOR A TIME BUT WAS ALSO CERTAIN TO FAIL. THE THIRD WAS THE ALMOST CERTAIN OUTCOME, ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT HAVE TO LIVE THROUGH STAGES OUTLINED

THE SOVIET

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ACTION	ACTION		
ASSIGNED TO: PL	TAKEN: 7-60	DATE OF	DIRECTIONS
NAME OF OFFICER	FE:SPN:RS:Indep:1	ACTION 12/7/61	TO RM/R: Fee

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Authority NND 949570  
By GPO NARA Date 8/4/00

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36  
ActionControl: 2396  
Rec'd: DEC. 5, 1961  
10:37amFE  
Info

FROM: MOSCOW

SS

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1674, DECEMBER 5, 11 AM

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ACTION DEPARTMENT 1674, INFORMATION DJAKARTA 7.

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FOLLOWING INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR AT DINNER WHICH HE GAVE FOR MEMBERS OF STAFF AND MYSELF LAST NIGHT. AIDIT WAS HIGHLY ANNOYED AT ATTACKS ON STALIN AND ALBANIA AT SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS. HE TOLD MALIK THAT KHRUSHCHEV HAD PROMISED TO MAKE FURTHER ATTEMPT SETTLE ALBANIAN QUARREL AND WAS SENDING SOVIET MILITARY OFFICER TIRANA FOR THIS PURPOSE--HE THOUGHT. SOKOLOVSKY, POLISH AMBASSADOR TOLD MALIK NO WARSAW PACT MEETING THIS MONTH BUT POSSIBLY IN JANUARY. MALIK THINKS AIDIT WORRIED AT POSSIBILITY LOSING CONTROL OF INDO PARTY WHICH HAS STRONG STALINIST PRO-CHINESE WING. MALIK CLAIMS HE CONVINCED SUKARNO THAT SOVIETS HAD NO LEGITIMATE INTEREST IN INDO OIL INDUSTRY AND ONLY WANTED TO MAKE TROUBLE. HE SAID SOVIET OFFER OF ASSISTANCE REJECTED.

MALIK CONFIRMED THAT CZECH TRAINING OF JET PILOTS BETTER THAN SOVIETS AND THEY HOPED ARRANGE FOR FUTURE TRAINING THERE. SOVIET TRAINING HAD BEEN AT INDO REQUEST WHICH MOTIVATED BY DESIRE LEARN SOVIET TACTICS. INDOS HAD BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL DESPITE REPEATED EFFORTS IN GETTING OFFICER INTO FRUNZE ACADEMY.

DESPITE THEIR OWN DESPERATE NEEDS CHINESE HAD OFFERED SUPPLY TO INDO BUT THEY HAD BEEN ABLE RECOVER REQUIREMENTS ELSEWHERE

THOMPSON

RJT

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NAME OF OFFICER	DATE OF ACTION <i>12/5/61</i>	DIRECTIONS TO RM/R <i>File</i>
OFFICE SYMBOL <i>FE: SPP: RSLindquist</i>		

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Authority *NND 949570*  
By *GP* NARA Date *8/4/00*

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

02874

Origin

ACTION: AMEmbassy, DJAKARTA NIACT

Info

594  
58-9813/12-6614611.98  
Your 1010. In addition to points made DEPTTEL 586 you may wish emphasize to Sukarno that we continue sincerely and earnestly anxious use our influence in finding mutually acceptable solution West New Guinea issue. To this end problem is under constant and active review at high levels with US GOVT. Much will, however, depend upon attitudes of two principal sides toward solution of problem and spirit in which Indonesians and Dutch approach question. It perhaps too early for either side to have developed further their views following upon recent action UNGA but we continue believe solution possible provided there is sufficient determination and sincerity on part both Dutch and Indonesians.

Believe your talk with Sukarno should be pointed toward emphasis on leaving door open to fuller exploration of basis for negotiation. If this can be done, we optimistic that solution can be found.

FYI. While it not possible at this stage to provide you with more specific or detailed guidance, you should know Department most actively engaged in attempting develop viable approach to solution, which we believe

can

Drafted by:

FE:SPA:AEEmmons:ll:geb 12/6/61

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

FE - John M. Steeves

Clearance:

WE - Mr. Stone (in draft)  
UNP - Mr. Sisco (in draft)

FORM DS-322 5-61

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Authority NND 949570  
By GPO NARA Date 8/4/00

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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43-M  
Action

Control: 4698  
Rec'd: DEC. 8, 1961  
4:55 a.m.

FE

FROM: DJAKARTA

Info

SS

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1018, DECEMBER 8, NOON (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

DEPTELS 586 AND 594

PRESIDENT SUKARNO TOLD ME TODAY HE WAS "DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED",  
INDEED HIS HOPE AND FAITH IN US HAD BEEN "SHATTERED" AS A RESULT  
OF OUR ABANDONMENT OF OUR HISTORIC POLICY OF NEUTRALITY ON WEST  
NEW GUINEA ISSUE AT UNITED NATIONS. NOW THAT HE HAD RECEIVED  
FULL REPORT OF MEETING, IT WAS CLEAR WE HAD "TAKEN SIDE OF DUTCH  
AGAINST INDONESIA." IN LIGHT OF EVERYTHING HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY  
PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY, IN LIGHT OF SUBANDRIO CONVERSATION WITH  
STEPHENSON, HE FOUND THIS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND.

FOR MANY YEARS HE HAD BEEN PLEADING WITH AMERICA TO ALTER  
ITS POLICY OF NEUTRALITY AND HAD PROMISED SWITCH IN ATTITUDE  
OF INDONESIA; NOW WE HAD NOT ONLY FAILED HELP INDONESIA,  
WE HAD ACTIVELY CAMPAIGNED AGAINST INDONESIAN POSITION AND  
SUPPORTED DUTCH RIGHT DOWN LINE. PRESIDENT WAS AS EXERCISED  
OVER THIS AS I HAVE EVER SEEN HIM. HE SPOKE CALMLY BUT WAS  
OBVIOUSLY TRYING TO RESTRAIN HIMSELF FROM SAYING SOMETHING HE  
WOULD REGRET. HE DID GO SO FAR AS TO SAY, "THE US HAS BEEN  
NEUTRAL TOWARD US. WE HAVE BEEN NEUTRAL TOWARD THE US. IF YOU  
ARE NO LONGER NEUTRAL TOWARD US, WE CAN NO LONGER BE NEUTRAL  
TOWARD YOU."

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I HAD  
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NAME OF OFFICER: <i>FE:SPA:AS:ind:ind</i>	DATE OF ACTION: <i>12/8/61</i>	
OFFICE SYMBOL: <i>FE:SPA:AS:ind:ind</i>		

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By *GP* NARA Date *8/4/00*

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45-M

SECRET

Action

Control: 4739

Rec'd: December 8, 1961  
7:11 AM

45- FE

Info

FROM: DJAKARTA

SR

TO: Secretary of State

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SP

NO: 1022, DECEMBER 8, 2 PM

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ACTION DEPARTMENT 1022, INFORMATION CINCPAC PRIORITY 135, USUN NIAC 50, THE HAGUE PRIORITY 59, CANBERRA PRIORITY 46, LONDON PRIORITY 54.

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

FOR SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

EMBTET 1018

ALTHOUGH MILITARY LEADERS WILL DO THEIR UTMOST TO PREVENT SUKARNO FROM "GIVING THE COMMAND" AT MONDAY MEETING, THEY ALL ADMIT THEY HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO RESPOND IF HE SHOULD DO SO, DESPITE THEIR LACK OF PREPAREDNESS. FURTHER, THERE IS LIKELY TO BE IN OPEN MEETING A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF RELUCTANCE, EVEN ON PART OF NASUTION, TO TAKE FIRM LEADERSHIP ON BEHALF OF MODERATE COURSE, FOR FEAR OF BEING REGARDED AS UNPATRIOTIC OR WEAK-KNEED.

THEREFORE, I AM CONVINCED THERE IS GRAVE AND IMMINENT DANGER OF SOME FORM OF MILITARY ACTION BY INDONESIA AIMED AT EITHER OUTRIGHT CONQUEST OR CREATION OF SITUATION WHICH WOULD FORCE INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO RESTORE PEACE, ADVANCE RECOGNITION GOI CLAIMS.

IN SPEAKING TO ME SUKARNO WAS QUIET, EARNEST AND CAREFUL IN HIS CHOICE OF WORDS. WHILE HE IS, OF COURSE, A CONSUMMATE ACTOR, HE WAS MOST CONVINCING. IN SHORT, HIS DEMEANOR WAS WHOLLY COMPATIBLE WITH SINCERITY. IT WOULD BE UNSAFE TO ASSUME THAT HE WAS BLUFFING.

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ACTION ASSIGNED TO: <i>FE RL</i>	ACTION TAKEN: <i>Telegram Drafted Dec 8 (by IO)</i>
NAME OF OFFICER: <i>FE:SPA:RS</i>	DATE OF ACTION: <i>12/8/61</i>
OFFICE SYMBOL: <i>FE:SPA:RS</i>	DIRECTIONS TO RM/R: <i>File</i>

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Authority *NND 949570*  
By *CD* NARA Date *8/4/00*

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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39-31  
Action

SECRET

Control: 4988  
Rec'd: December 8, 1961  
12:30 p.m.

FE

Info

FROM: DJAKARTA

SS

TO: Secretary of State

SR

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NO: 1024, DECEMBER 8, 10 PM

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ACTION DEPARTMENT 1024, INFORMATION CINCPAC PRIORITY 136,  
USUN NIACT 51, THE HAGUE PRIORITY 60, CANBERRA PRIORITY  
47, LONDON PRIORITY 55.

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EMBTLS 1018 AND 1022

8 P. M. DECEMBER 8. FOREIGN MINISTER SUBANDRIO ASKED  
TO SEE ME AT HIS HOME TONIGHT AND WE WENT GENERALLY OVER  
SAME GROUND I COVERED WITH PRESIDENT THIS MORNING. ADDITIONAL  
POINTS MAY BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

1. SUKARNO IS BEGINNING TO HAVE CONVICTION US IS  
AGAIN GUNNING FOR HIM PERSONALLY. HE THOUGHT THIS HAD CLEARED  
UP AS RESULT HIS SATISFACTORY PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH PRESIDENT  
KENNEDY BUT IS AFRAID HE IS AGAIN OUR TARGET.

2. AT MOMENT, DUTCH ARE CONVINCED US BACKING LUNS AND  
COMPLETELY IN SUPPORT NETHERLANDS POSITION; INDOS  
THINK THE SAME. IF US REALLY INTENDS TO BE NEUTRAL, AS  
SUBANDRIO IS WILLING TO GIVE US CREDIT FOR, SOME ACTION IS  
ESSENTIAL TO CORRECT THIS DISTORTED IMAGE OF OUR POSITION.

3. UN EXPERIENCE WAS "TOUGHEST FIGHT OF MY LIFE."  
SUBANDRIO SAID, BECAUSE FOR FIRST TIME "WE HAD US AGAINST US."  
HE STILL COULD NOT UNDERSTAND REASONS FOR US ACTION OPPOSING  
INDIAN RESOLUTION AND GIVING DUTCH COMPLETE OUT TO WITHDRAW

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Jakarta 1024

656.9813/12-861

44-611.98

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Authority NND 949570  
By [initials] NARA Date 8/4/00

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ActionCONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

611-98/12-1161

PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES

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Info

PMIR-2

FNR-8

FE-7

IO-7

MC-1

S/P-1

S/S-25

P-5

G-2

FROM: BOMEN

TO: Secstate WASHINGTON

NO: A-690

INFO: Ambassador JAKARTA A-10  
Ambassador THE HAGUE A-51

Date Sent: DECEMBER 11, 1961

Rec'd:

NR 798.56  
656.9813Ambassador PARIS A-215  
Ambassador COPENHAGEN A-35

CIA-16  
 USIA-15  
 OSD-20  
 Army-M-1  
 Navy-4

PARIS FOR USRO, STOESEL AND MCGUIRE.

Bassier East Asian desk Fonoff told Imboffs December 8 he considered present U.S. policy in Indonesia absolutely sound. He said Dutch had sought obtain German support and intervention with USG for recent New Guinea plan and were considerably annoyed at German refusal to give endorsement. Bassier said he strongly disposed to support Indonesian purchase arms in Western countries, since Indonesia otherwise would turn to Bloc for such purchases. He called Imboffs' attention to Copenhagen report in Deutsche Zeitung of December 5 stating Dutch had sharply protested at NATO Danish delivery 5000 machine guns to Indonesia, and would similarly protest West German delivery machine guns.

DOWLING

POL:FRSmet:pab 12/9/61

CDKidd

Coord:POL:RDavis

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 By GPO NARA Date 8/4/00

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611.98/12-1261  
XR 798.00  
XR 121.986

## FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : Anembassy DJAKARTA

390  
DESP. NO.

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

December 12, 1961  
DATE

REF : CA-416, November 8, 1961

DEC 14 1961

59 For Dept. Use Only	ACTION	DEPT.
	REC'D	OTHER
	5/5-3 Rm/R-2 InR-7 S/P-1 G-1 OPR-1 P-3 12-20 CIA-11 2651A-10 O-50-5 Annex 4 Annex 4.	

SUBJECT: Department Request for Evaluation of Information on Current Developments and Policies in the Political Field

The Embassy is being sufficiently informed of current developments and policies in the political field; the volume of information is more than adequate and there appears to be no duplication.

"Current Foreign Relations" (CFR) is distributed to the Political, Economic and Consular Sections as well as to the PAO. This publication, which takes about 12 days to reach this post, serves the largest number of officers in the Political Section, namely nine. It takes about three weeks for the copy to reach the last man on the distribution list, who still finds it informative.

The Embassy considers that articles of current interest are more useful than Intelligence Summary items. It also finds articles about the Far East of greater use than those concerning other geographic areas, which are nevertheless valuable for broad background purposes. In general, the notes and articles are equally useful. CFR does contain considerable information which is not available from other sources, and has improved considerably in the past six months. The Embassy has no substantive criticisms to make regarding the style, format and coverage of the magazine.

For the Ambassador:

Rebecca H. Barber

Rolland H. Bushner  
Counselor of Embassy for Political Affairs

CLEARANCE:

ECON (in draft)

ADMIN(in draft)

PAO (in draft)

5/5-0

M. S. Peak

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MAY 1 1969

POL:HLH:eymann:ae  
REPORTER

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1961 DEC 15 PM 5 16

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06091

Origin ACTION: Amembassy DJAKARTA

Info: RPTD INFO: THE HAGUE

Dept spokesman gave following reply Dutch newsman question re Subandrio statements linking US-WNG dispute carried Reuters Djakarta thirteenth: QUOTE American position WNG dispute stated very clearly Bingham UN. We stand for any resolution problem that would be mutually acceptable both parties and which in spirit UN Charter. We have no rpt no other interest matter except that this dispute friendly countries settled peacefully. END QUOTE

BALL

*Bau  
Hanus  
Huu*

*Djakarta 6/16*

*656.9813/12-15-61*

*416-611.95  
385-98*

(4)

Microfilm by RMEL

Drafted by: FE/P:JG:G:Klf - 12/13/61

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE/P - A. E. Manell

Cleanances: WE - Mr. Beaudry

SPA - Mr. Lindquist

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By *CP* NARA Date *8/4/00*

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24  
INCOMING TELEGRAM

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39-M

SECRET

Action

Control:

17710

Rec'd:

December 31, 1961  
9:46 a.m.

FE

Info

FROM: DJAKARTA

SS

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1153, DECEMBER 31, 9 AM

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LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

DEPTEL 679

I HAVE ALREADY ACCEPTED INVITATION ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT TO SULAWESI AND FOR NUMBER OF REASONS DO NOT BELIEVE WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO BACK OUT.

AS DEPT HAS RECOGNIZED I WOULD FIND IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, AS DOYEN OF CORPS, RENEGE ON INVITATION ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT:

I HAVE NEVER FAILED ACCOMPANY HIM ON PREVIOUS TOURS AND TO DO SO NOW, AFTER HAVING ACCEPTED, WOULD REQUIRE MORE CREDIBLE EVIDENCE FAILING HEALTH THAN I FEAR I WOULD BE ABLE TO MUSTER.

I AM INFORMED TRIP WILL BE ONLY FOUR (NOT TEN) DAYS DURATION AND TENTATIVE SCHEDULE RECEIVED FROM PROTOCOL INDICATES MAIN EVENTS AS ONE MASS MEETING, A CULTURAL PERFORMANCE, A VISIT TO UNIVERSITY AND SIGHTSEEING. I ALSO UNDERSTAND PRESIDENT MAY LEAD GROUP TO CERTAIN FORMER REBEL AREAS. THERE IS NO INDICATION OF ROMAN CIRCUS WHIP UP ON WNG BUT I NATURALLY EXPECT PRESIDENT WILL ADDRESS HIMSELF THIS SUBJECT WITH USUAL ORATORICAL FLOURISHES.

WHILE SCENE COULD SHIFT, PRESENT ENCOURAGING PROSPECTS FOR GOI-DUTCH TALKS AND IMPROVED GOI-US RELATIONS DUE OUR EFFORTS BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER LEADS ME BELIEVE PRESIDENT WILL EXERCISE CERTAIN RESTRAINTS, PARTICULARLY IF I AM PRESENT.

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